

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
HA-05 MCT-01 /072 W
-----000772 021802Z /53

R 021445Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2431
INFO ZMEMBASSY BONN 9495
AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMCONSUL PALERMO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 7904

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PINT,IT
SUBJECT: VIEWS OF SENIOR PCI OFFICIAL

SUMMARY. INA CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, A SENIOR ITALIAN
COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) OFFICIAL SAID THAT HIS PARTY REMAINS
FIRMLY OPPOSED TO ANY NEGOTIATIONS THAT LEAD TO CONCESSIONS
TO THE KIDNAPPERS OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DC)
PRESIDENT MORO. REGARDING THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF THE
KIDNAPPING, THE COMMUNIST OFFICIAL SAID THT IT IS TOO
EARLY TO MAKE ANY PREDICTIONS, BUT HE NOTED THAT IT HAS
LED TO A GREATER SENSE OF UNITY AMONG THE FIVE PARTIES
SUPPORTING THE NEW ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN
EXPECTED.THE PCI HAS PROVIDED THE GOVERNMENT WITH
INFORMATION ON EX-MEMBERS WHOM IT BELIEVES ARE COOPERATING
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WITH EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORISTS. THE PCI HAS NO INFORMATION
SUPPORTING ALLEGATIONS BY A MEMBER OF ITS LEADERSHIP
REGARDIND POSSIBLE AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE BRIGATE
ROSSE (BR), AND THE PARTY DIRECTORATE HAS DIRECTED HIM
TO REFRAIN FROM REPEATING THESE. THE KIDNAPPING AND ITS
INHERENT POLICICAL IMPACT WILL IMPEDE EFFORTS TO TRANSFORM
THE COMMUNIST YOUTH FEDERATION (FGCI) INTO A MASS ORGANI-

ZATION. IT ALSO FORCED CANCELLATION F AN APPEARANCE BY
PCI SECRETARY GENERAL BERLINGUER AT THE CONGRESS OF THE
SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF HAD A LENGHY CONVERSATION APRIL20 WITH PCI
DIRECTORATE MEMBER LUCIANO BARCA. DURING THE RECENT
GOVERNMENT CRISIS, BARCA WAS A KEY FIGURE IN BEHIND-THE
SCENES PCI-DC CONSULATIONS.

2. THE MOR KIDNAPPING. BARCA SAID HIS PARTY REMAINS
INALTERABLY OPPOSED TO MAKING ANY CONCESSIONS TO THE BR
IN RETURN FOR THE RELEASE OF THE DC PRESIDENT. WHILE THE
PCI DOES NOT OPPOSE CONTACTS WHICH COULD OPEN A HHMANI-
TARIAN DIALOGUE WITH MORO'S KIDNAPPERS, IT SIMPLY COULD
NOT ACCEPT POLITICALLY A DECSION TO ACCEDE TO THE BR
DEMANDS. (COMMENT. BARCA GAVE THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION
THAT ANY CONCESSIONS TO THE KIDNAPPERS IN RETURN FOR THE
RELEASE OF MOR COULD LEAD TO A PCI DECISION TO FORCE A
POLITICAL CRISIS. END COMMENT). IN THE PCI'S VIEW, ANY
CONCESSIONS TO THE BR WOULD DESTROY THE MORALE AND
EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NATION'S PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES, A
POINT BARCA REITERATED DURING A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION
ON APRIL 21 IN WHICH HE POINTED TO NUMEROUS TLELEGRAMS
FROM GROUPS WITHIN THE PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES SUPPORTING
THE HARD POSITION OF THE PCI IN RESPONSE TO THE BR'S
MESSAGE OF APRIL 20. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT AN
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APPARENT SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI) INCLINATON TO DEAL WITH
THE TERRORISTS AND ABOUT PRESSURES FROM MORO'S FRIENDS IN
THE DC FOR A MODIFICATION IN THE RIGID POSITION UNTIL
NOW ASSUMED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC
PARTY.

3. POLITICAL IMPACT. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, BARCA
SIAD IT IS FAR TOO SOON TO MEASURE THE REAL IMPACT OF THE
MORO KIDNAPPING ON THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SITUATION.
UNTILNOW THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT IS THE SENSE OF
UNITY THAT HAS DEVELOPED AMONG THE FIVE PARTIES OF THE
PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY, SOMETHING THAT WOLD NOT HAVE
BEEN CONSTRUCTED SO EASILY HAD THE KIDNAPPING NOT OCCURED.
NOT ONLY ARE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES GOOD, PARLIA-
MENTARY LIFE IS PROCEEDING AT A GOOD PACE AND THE PCI HAS
A FAVORABLE ASSESSMENT OF THE PERFORMANCE OF THE VARIOUS
MINISTERS TO DATE. BARCA ALSO POINTED TO AN IMPROVED
PCI RELATIONSHIP WITH CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE DC NOT
TRADITIONALLY FIRIENDLY TO THE PCI. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE
PCI HAS REVISED ITS ASSESSMENT OF THE STRENGHTS OF CERTAIN
DC LEADERS BASED ON THEIR HANDLING OF THE CURRENT CRISIS,
MENTIONING IN PARTICULAR DC CHAMBER OD DEPUTIES LEADER

FLAMINIO PICCOLI.

4. FROM THE PCI STANDPOINT, BARCA OPINED THAT THE POSSIBLE REMOVAL OF MORO FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE WOULD CREATE AT LEAST A SHORT TERM VOID IN THE DC-PCI RELATIONSHIP SINCE IT WOULD REMOVE THE PCI'S INTERLOCUTOR WITH ITS PRINCIPAL POLITICAL RIVAL. AS A CLOSE POLITICAL FRIEND OF MORO WHO HAD HAD FREQUENT CONTACT WITH HIM DURING THE RECENT POLITICAL CRISIS, BARCA DESCRIBED THE DC PRESIDENT AS THE ONE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER TO WHOM THE COMMUNISTS REVELAED ALL THE CARDS THEY WERE PLAYING. THIS IS NOT THE CASE OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH TOTHER DC LEADERS. BARCA DESCRIBED ZACCAGNINI AS WEAK, AND SUGGESTED THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF MOR, THE DOROTEO FACTION OF THE DC IS CONFIDENTIAL

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BECOMING INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT IN THE RUNNING OF THE PARTY.

5. THE BRIGATE ROSSE.ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE PCI HAD ERRED IN NOT RECOGNIZING EARLIER THE DANGERS TO THE REPUBLIC POSED BY EXTREME LEFT TERRORISTS, BARCA ARGUED THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR DECISIVE ACTION IN DEALING WITH THE THREAT. THE PCI, HE SAID, IS SERIOUS IN ITS INTENTIOS TO DO SOMETHING TO DEAL WITH THE PHENOMENON. AND HE REVEALED THAT SNCE THE KIDNAPPING THE PARTY HAS PROVIDED THE APPROPRIATE GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES WITH INFORMATION ON FORMER MEMBERS WHOM IT BELIEVES HAVE ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH THE BR OR ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, HE NOTED THAT IN THE PAST YEAR THE PCI HAS PROVIDED TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR INFORMATION EVEN ON QUOTE SOME OF OUR FRIENDS END QUOTE WHOM IT BELIEVES HAVE BEEN PARTICIPATING IN BR GROUPS IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIBAL ENTERPRISES SUCH AS SIP (TELEPHONE) AND SIEMENS. BARCA ALSO REGRETTEED TOLERANCE FOR EXTREME LEFTISTS IN THE UIL (SOCIALIST-REPUBLICAN) AND CISL (CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC) LABOR MOVEMENTS, MENTIONING IN PARTICULAR THAT CISL DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL PIERRE CARNITI HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN BRINGING LEFTISTS INTO THE LABOR ORGANIZATION.

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HA-05 MCT-01 /072 W
-----000451 021801Z /53

R 021445Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2432
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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6. ASSOCIATION OF THE CIA WITH THE BR. EMBOFF EXPRESSED TO THE COMMUNIST OFFICIAL HIS DISMAY AT THE RECENT STATEMENT OF DIRECTORATE MEMBER MACALUSO SUGGESTING THAT THE CIA IS INVOLVED IN THE MORO KIDNAPPING AS A MEANS OF DESTABILIZING THE POLITICAL SITUATION. HE TERMED THE ACCUSATION IRRESPONSIBLE AND ASKED TO BE PROVIDED WITH ANY PROOF THAT THE PCI MIGHT HAVE ANY CIA INVOLVEMENT IN THE MORO AFFAIR. BARCA REPLIED THAT A PCI DIRECTORATE MEETING HAD ORDERED MACALUSO AND OTHERS IN THE LEADERSHIP TO REFRAIN FROM REPEATING THESE UNSUPPORTED ACCUSATIONS SINCE THE PCI HAS NOTHING TO SUGGEST THAT THE CIA HAS ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE MORO KIDNAPPING. BARCA ALSO REVEALED THAT MACALUSO HAD BEEN REPRIMANDED FOR NOT HAVING INFORMED HIS PARTY COLLEAGUES OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF HIS STEP-DAUGHTER WITH AN EXTREME LEFTIST GROUP. MACALUSO'S
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STEP-DAUGHTER WAS ARRESTED RECENTLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE POLICE DISCOVERY OF AN EXTREME LEFTIST HIDEOUT NEAR NAPLES). CONTINUING ALONG THESE LINES EMBOFF THEN NOTED THAT BUFALINIS SPEECH TO THE MOST RECENT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING HAD A REFERENCE TO FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN THE MORO KIDNAPPING WHICH MOST WOULD TAKE AS A VEILED REFERENCE TO THE CIA.

7 . FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. BARCA AND EMBOFF ENGAGED IN A

LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES DURING WHICH EMBOFF POINTED TO STRIKING SIMILARITY BETWEEN SOVIET AND PCI POSITIONS ON VIRTUALLY ALL MAJOR QUESTIONS, LEADING ONE TO QUESTION THE DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE PARTY FROM MOSCOW. PURSUING HIS POINT, EMBOFF TOOK THE MIDDLE EAST, THE HORN OF AFRICA AND THE N-BOMB AS EXAMPLES. BARCA RESPONDED THAT IT WAS NOT EASY TO CONDUCT VARIOUS RELATIONSHIPS OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME. REGARDING THE HORN OF AFRICA, HE SAID THAT CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ERITREA WOULD PRESENT A MAJOR DILEMMA FOR THE PCI, AND HE HOPED THAT THIS WOULD BE AVOIDED. REGARDING SUPPORT OF ETHIOPIA, IT CAME ABOUT LARGELY AS THE RESULT OF THE INFLUENCE OF GIAN CARLO PAJETTA, THE SECRETARIAT MEMBER RESPONSIBLE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. BARCA SUGGESTED HE WAS CRITICAL OF PAJETTA'S ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA, AND STATED THAT PAJETTA'S PERSONAL AMBITIONS MIGHT HAVE AFFECTED DECISIONS HE HAD MADE.

8. WITH REFERENCE TO THE PARTY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE U.S., BARCA SAID THAT THE STATIONING OF A L'UNITA CORRESPONDENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD BE SEEN AS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT SINCE IT PERMITS THE PCI RANK-AND-FILE TO RECEIVE A MORE BALANCED IMAGE OF AMERICAN EVENTS THATN
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THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY RECEIVED. EMBOFF AGREED, BUT STATED THAT A GOOD DEAL OF L'UNITA COVERAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IS STILL NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE PARTY'S PROFESSED POLICY OF DESIRING TO BE NEITHER ANTI-SOVIET NOR ANTI-AMERICAN.

9. THE SOCIALISTS. BARCA COMMENTED THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS HAD CONCLUDED WITH THE ADOPTION OF THE RIGHT PROGRAM BY THE WRONG MAJORITY. HE CRITICIZED SOME OF HIS PARTY COLLEAGUES, AMONG THEM PAJETTA, FOR HAVING BACKED MISTAKENLY ENRICO MANCA IN HIS CHALLENGE AGAINST PARTY SECRETARY CRAXI. BARCA SAID IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER CRAXI WILL BE SUCCESSFUL IN RESHAPING THE NATURE OF HIS PARTY.

10. THE FGCI CONGRESS. ACCORDING TO BARCA, THE PARTY HAD HOPED THAT THE COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION'S CONGRESS IN FLORENCE WOULD LEAD TO A REORGANIZATION OF ITS STRUCTURE. THE DESIGN IS TO CREATE A MASS ORGANIZATION WHICH DOES NOT HAVE A HIERARCHY IDENTICAL IN STRUCTURE TO THAT OF THE PCI AND IN WHICH DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM WOULD HAVE A REDUCED SIGNIFICANCE. IN ESSENCE, THE OBJECTIVE IS TO PERMIT ADHERENCE TO THE FGCI OF GROUPS NOT FORMALLY ASSOCIATED WITH COMMUNIST THOUGHT. THE MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS WILL ELECT, WITHOUT

FGCI OR PCI GUIDANCE, THE INDIVIDUALS THEY WOULD WISH TO REPRESENT THEM ON THE APPROPRIATE FGCI GOVERNING BODY. THE FACT THAT THE CONGRESS IS OVERSHADOWED BY THE MORO KIDNAPPING AND THE RISK THAT THE NEW ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE COULD BE INFILTRATED BY EXTREME LEFTISTS MEANS THAT THE FGCI REFORMS WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN A MORE GRADUAL AND CAUTIOUS MANNER THAN HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN ANTICIPATED.

1. SPANISH PARTY CONGRESS. DUE TO DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE MORO KIDNAPPING. SECRETARIAT MEMBERS GERARDO CHIAROMONTE HAD TO DROP PLANS TO LEAD THE PCI DELEGATION
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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS. BARCA REVEALED THAT BERLINGUER HAD INTENDED TO MAKE AN UNANNOUNCED VISIT TO THE CONGRESS ON THE LAST DAY TO DEMONSTRATE HIS SUPPORT FOR CARRILLO, BUT THE MORO KIDNAPPING OBLIGED HIM TO CHANGE HIS PLANS.

12. PCI SECURITY. BARCA SAID THAT THE PARTY HAS STEPPED UP ITS SECURITY, IN THE WAKE OF THE MORO KIDNAPPING, FOR BERLINGUER AND FOR ITS SECURITY SPOKESMAN, UGO PACCHIOLI. NONE OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP HAVE ARMED ESCORTS, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE VARYING THEIR DAILY SCHEDULES AND THE ROUTES THEY USE BETWEEN HOME AND OFFICE. BARCA REMARKED AS AN ASIDE, THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF GOVERNMENT FUNDS, THE PCI HAD PURCHASED AN ARMORED CAR FOR BERLINGUER'S POLICE ESCORT. (BERLINGUER WAS ALREADY RIDING AROUND IN AN ARMORED VEHICLE). GARDNER

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Message Attributes

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Draft Date: 02 may 1978
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Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
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Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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